

## Message Text

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ORIGIN SS-15

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 SP-02 /018 R

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DRAFTED BY C:RFHOPPER

APPROVED BY C:RFHOPPER

-----105651 112202Z /44

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FM SECSTATE WASHDC

TO AMEMBASSY MEXICO IMMEDIATE

C O N F I D E N T I A L STATE 190360

FOR MATTHEW NIMETZ, COUNSELOR OF THE DEPT.

FOL RPT ANKARA 5997 ACTION SECSTATE INFO NICOSIA ATHENS  
BONN BRUSSELS LONDON ADANA ISTANBUL IZMIR USUN NY NATO  
CINCEUR USDOCOSOUTH NAPLES USDOCOLANDSOUTHEAST IZMIR 11 AUG 77  
QUOTE

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 5997

BRUSSELS FOR USEEC

E.O. 11652: GDS

TAGS: PFOR, CY, TU

SUBJECT: TURKISH DEMARCHE ON RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS'  
SUCCESSOR

1. MFA CYPRUS-GREECE DIRGEN TURGUT TULUMEN CALLED IN  
POLCOUNS LATE AUGUST 10 TO SET FORTH TURKISH POSITION  
REGARDING INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR.  
TULUMEN SAID THIS DEMARCHE WOULD HAVE BEEN MADE AT A HIGHER  
LEVEL BUT THAT BOTH FONMIN AND SEC GEN WERE OUT OF TOWN.  
HE SAID A PARALLEL ACTION WOULD BE TAKEN BY THE TURKISH  
CHARGE IN WASHINGTON, AND THAT REPRESENTATIONS WERE ALSO  
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BEING MADE IN A NUMBER OF OTHER CAPITALS, INCLUDING LONDON  
AND BONN.

2. TULUMEN BEGAN BY READING ALOUD EXCERPTS FROM SEC.  
CLIFFORD'S PRESS CONFERENCE OF AUGUST 9. POL COUNS SAID  
HE WAS UNABLE TO COMMENT BECAUSE EMBASSY HAD NOT YET RECEIVED  
OFFICIAL TEXT (NICOSIA 2086 ARRIVED SHORTLY AFTERWARD)

AND DID NOT YET HAVE SPECIFIC GUIDANCE FROM WASHINGTON ON THE SUBJECT OF RECOGNITION. TULUMEN COMMENTED THAT THERE WERE SEVERAL ASPECTS OF THE PRESS CONFERENCE THAT WERE BOUND TO IRRITATE HIS MINISTER, BUT HE DID NOT HIMSELF MAKE A PROTEST.

3. TULUMEN THEN SET FORTH FORMALLY WHAT HE DESCRIBED AS A FULLY ENDORSED TURKISH GOVERNMENT POSITION ON THE MAKARIOS SUCCESSOR ISSUE. THE NEW PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS AMONG THE GREEK CYPRIOTS WILL NOT BE VALID FOR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS OR HAVE ANY BINDING EFFECT ON THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, HE SAID. ANY GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER SO ELECTED CAN ONLY REPRESENT THE GREEK COMMUNITY, NOT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY, AND CANNOT ACT ON BEHALF OF THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS OR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY. TULUMEN SAID THAT THIS POSITION WAS FULLY SUPPORTED BY BOTH THE TURKISH CYPRIOT LEADERSHIP AND THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY. CONTINUING, HE SAID THAT THE 1960 CONSTITUTION HAD BEEN CONTINUOUSLY VIOLATED BY THE GREEK CYPRIOTS AND THAT NONE OF ITS PROVISIONS CONCERNING THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAD BEEN OBSERVED SINCE DECEMBER, 1963. THUS, IT WAS NOT POSSIBLE TO TALK ABOUT THE REPUBLIC OF CYPRUS BASED ON THE 1960 CONSTITUTION BUT ONLY ABOUT THE EXISTENCE OF TWO AUTONOMOUS STATES IN CYPRUS. IT IS NECESSARY TO AWAIT THE FORMATION OF A NEW GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS BASED UPON THE CONSENT OF THE TWO COMMUNITIES. WHILE TALKS GO ON REGARDING THE ESTABLISHMENT OF A BIZONAL, CONFIDENTIAL

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BICOMMUNAL STATE, THERE SHOULD BE A TRANSITIONAL MIXED OR JOINT GOVERNMENT AS WAS EARLIER PROPOSED BY THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS. TULUMEN CONCLUDED BY EMPHASIZING THAT THE INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS CAN CONTINUE ONLY ON THE BASIS OF EQUAL STATUS FOR BOTH SIDES.

4. QUESTIONED ABOUT JUST WHAT THE TURKS EXPECTED TO GET IN PRACTICAL TERMS FROM THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY, TULUMEN REPEATED THAT THE KEY NEED IS EQUAL STATUS FOR THE TURKISH COMMUNITY IN ITS DEALING WITH THE GREEK COMMUNITY. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS WERE DETERMINED TO ACHIEVE THIS EQUALITY, HE SAID, AND ONE OF ITS WAYS OF DOING SO WAS VIA A UNILATERAL DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE (UDI). THE GOT CONTINUED TO BE STRONGLY OPPOSED TO UDI. HOWEVER, THE GOT NEEDED HELP AND SUPPORT FOR THIS OPPOSITION. HE CAUTIONED THAT THE U.S. SHOULD BE CAREFUL NOT TO PUSH DENKTASH TOO FAR, AND HE URGED THAT THE U.S. "DO JUSTICE TO THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, BECAUSE YOU MAY NEED THEIR HELP." TULUMEN BELIEVED IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY FOR OTHER COUNTRIES TO BREAK RELATIONS WITH THE PRESENT GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS BUT, IN ORDER TO PROVIDE EQUAL INTERNATIONAL STATUS FOR BOTH COMMUNITIES, IT WOULD BE NECESSARY THAT FOREIGN

GOVERNMENTS NOT ADDRESS THE GREEK CYPRIOT LEADER AS THE PRESIDENT OF CYPRUS AND THAT THEY FIND SOME BETTER TITLE FOR DENKTAFP THAN SIMPLY "HIS EXCELLENCY". IT WOULD BE NECESSARY ALSO THAT FOREIGN GOVERNMENTS GIVE EQUAL RECOGNITION TO BOTH COMMUNITIES AT THE U.S. GENERAL ASSEMBLY AND IN OTHER INTERNATIONAL GATHERINGS.

5. POL COUNS MADE POINT SEVERAL TIMES THAT, SPEAKING ON A PERSONAL BASIS, HE WOULD BE SORRY INDEED IF THE GOT PRESSED THIS CASE STRONGLY BECAUSE IT HAD VIRTUALLY NO CHANCE OF SUCCEEDING. HE POINTED OUT THAT THE U.S. AND TURKEY OVER A NUMBER OF YEARS HAD IN EFFECT AGREED TO DISAGREE ON THE ISSUE OF U.S. RELATIONS WITH THE GOVERNMENT OF CYPRUS. HE  
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POINTED OUT ALSO THAT U.S. POLICY ON RECOGNITION IS DEEPLY ROOTED AND HAS WORLDWIDE RAMIFICATIONS, AND THAT THE U.S. COULD NOT NECESSARILY BE EXPECTED TO BASE RECOGNITION ON AN INTERPRETATION OF THE CYPRUS CONSTITUTION. HE OVVERED FRIENDLY ADVICE THAT THE GOT RECONSIDER BEFORE TAKING ANY FURTHER ACTION IN SUPPORT OF THIS POSITION.

6. TULUMEN RESPONDED WITH CONSIDERABLE AGITATION THAT THE DECISION TO TAKE A STRONG STAND HAD ALREADY BEEN TAKEN AT THE HIGHEST LEVELS. THE GOT WILL PRESS VERY HARD ON THIS QUESTION, HE SAID, AND IS UNDER STRONG PRESSURE TO DO SO, "BOTH HERE AND IN NICOSIA". HE ASSERTED THAT THE DEATH OF MAKARIOS REMOVED THE LAST VESTIGIAL CLAIM TO CONSTITUTIONALITY HELD BY THE GREEK CYPRIOT ADMINISTRATION, AND THAT THE TURKISH SIDE SIMPLY COULD NOT CONTINUE DEALING UNDER CONDITIONS OF INTERNATIONAL INEQUALITY. DEPENDING ON THE OUTCOME OF THIS ISSUE, HE PREDICTED, THERE IS A CHANCE EITHER TO MAKE PROGRESS IN RESOLVING THE CYPRUS PROBLEM OR TO REACH A COMPLETE DEADLOCK. HE URGED THAT WE MAKE PRODUCTIVE USE OF THE OPPORTUNITY FOR PROGRESS.

7. COMMENT: WE BELIEVE THERE IS REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THE TURKS WILL OVERCOMMIT THEMSELVES TO THE EFFORT TO SWAY US AWAY FROM RECOGNITION OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR, AND THAT DAMAGE TO OUR RELATIONS COULD RESULT. ACCORDINGLY, UNLESS THE DEPARTMENT SEES ANY POSSIBILITY OF ACCOMMODATING TURKISH DESIRES EVEN IN PART, WE RECOMMEND A CONCERTED EFFORT TO DISABUSE THE TURKS AT THE OUTSET OF ANY HOPE THAT ANY PRESSURE THEY MAY APPLY COULD SUCCEED IN CHANGING U.S. POLICY ON THIS ISSUE. IT WOULD BE HELPFUL ALSO, WE BELIEVE, TO POINT OUT TO THE TURKS THAT BECAUSE OF THE MAKARIOS SUCCESSION PROBLEM, THE RESPONSIBILITY FOR INABILITY TO HOLD INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS NO LONGER RESTS EXCLUSIVELY ON THE  
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TURKS, BUT IF THE TURKS TAKE THE POSITION THAT THEY CANNOT  
ENTER INTERCOMMUNAL TALKS BECAUSE OF INTERNATIONAL RECOGNITION  
OF MAKARIOS' SUCCESSOR, FULL BLAME FOR BLOCKING NEGOTIATIONS  
WILL REST SQUARELY ON THEM. PENDING RECEIPT OF INSTRUCTIONS,  
WE PROPOSE TO MAKE THESE POINTS IN ANY DISCUSSIONS OF THE SUBJECT  
THAT MAY ARISE.  
SPIERS

UNQUOTE CHRISTOPHER

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## Message Attributes

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**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009  
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**Document Unique ID:** 00  
**Drafter:** RFHOPPER  
**Enclosure:** n/a  
**Executive Order:** GS  
**Errors:** N/A  
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a  
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**Type:** TE  
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**Review Markings:**  
Margaret P. Grafeld  
Declassified/Released  
US Department of State  
EO Systematic Review  
22 May 2009  
**Markings:** Margaret P. Grafeld Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 22 May 2009